UNITY

FREEDOM FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

(Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918)

Editors

John Haynes Holmes **Francis Neilson**

What Made the Wise Men Wise?

By ALSON H. ROBINSON

Essentials of Humanism

By CURTIS W. REESE

Confessions of a Libertarian

By THEODORE SCHROEDER

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JOHN HAYNES HOLMES : *Editors* : FRANCIS NEILSON

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Contents

EDITORIAL—
Notes 227
What Made the Wise Men Wise?—REV. ALSON H. ROBINSON 230
Jottings—J. H. H. 231
Editorial Correspondence: American Notes—REV. SYDNEY STRONG 232

ARTICLES—
Essentials of Humanism—REV. CURTIS W. REESE 233
Confessions of a Libertarian—THEODORE SCHROEDER 234

POETRY—
A Christmas Hymn—JOHN HAYNES HOLMES 227
Dusk—PHILIP EMERSON WOOD 233
Song—*Florence Earle Coates* 233

THE STUDY TABLE—
Politics in Asia—FREDERICK STARR 236
Children and China—BENJAMIN F. MARCH 237

CORRESPONDENCE—
Three Telegrams on the Locarno Pact—LUIGI CARNOVALE 238
"Capacity to Pay"—HENRY W. PINKHAM 238
"An Indian Reverie"—J. T. SUNDERLAND 239

THE FIELD—
The American Committee for Justice to China. 239

UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

VOLUME XCVI MONDAY, DECEMBER 28, 1925 NUMBER 15

A CHRISTMAS HYMN

I.

The Bethlehem stars are dim tonight,
The Bethlehem skies are still;
The weary shepherds sleep among
Their flocks upon the hill;
But Caesar's legions guard the gate,
His trumpets wait the morn;
Why come not angels to proclaim
The Son of Man is born?

II.

The Bethlehem streets are dark tonight,
The Bethlehem winds are cold;
A hungry jackal howls his pain
Out on the empty wold;
But Caesar's banners flaunt their wings
Athwart the torches' glare
On soldiers in a stable-yard—
Why comes not Mary there?

III.

O Bethlehem town, our hearts tonight
Are dreaming all of thee;
Hast thou no song for us to hear,
No star for us to see?
Must Caesar's trumpets cry the doom
Of God's dread Judgment Day,
Or shall we find thy peace again,
And at a manger pray?

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

The coming new year finds America enjoying a prosperity and general welfare almost unexampled in the nation's history. Politically we are in the midst of an "era of good feeling" such as no president has seen since the days of James Monroe. Industrially we have no disturbance save that of the anthracite coal strike, which is almost forgotten in the midst of the happy conditions everywhere else prevailing. Socially we see such an indulgence in pleasure, excitement and luxury as rivals the tales of Babylon and Rome. We are "at ease in Zion" these days. We are waxing fat on the spoils of our own land and the tributes of other lands. At such a time it is futile to expect people to be interested in reforms, to care about evils and injustices, even to practice the ordinary restraints and disciplines of decent living. We are out to enjoy this world, thank you! If there is any ugliness, we will not see it; if there is any suffering, we will fling it a coin; if there are any obstacles in the way of our full indulgence of anything that our flesh can crave and our money can buy, we will smash them double-quick. It is in this circumstance of the sordid and disgusting orgy in which the American people are now lost, that we find the real explanation of the prohibition situation. Hosts of people will not heed or sustain the law because it seems to suggest an inhibition, and also because they propose to have the "wine" as well as the "women and the song" which men have always used to express their joy. It is in this same circumstance that we find the secret of the corruption that is now running rife in Washington and elsewhere. Not since the decade following the Civil War has our political life been so rotten as it is today. Here also is the explanation of the almost complete disappearance of the radical movement, of any consciousness of or passion for a better world. Contentment, complacency, hypocrisy, pleasure-seeking, riotous self-indulgence, insatiable hunger for money and the things that money will buy—these are the dominant characteristics of the hour. And how do these accord with the principles of Christianity—the religion of the poor, the humble, and the pure in heart?

If America is discouraging at this hour, Europe is assuredly encouraging. In itself, of course, the situation is still tragic beyond words; but, comparing it with what has gone before, there is brightness all around the hitherto dark horizon. England has been overborne by her vast problems of unemployment and taxation, but she notes real signs of recovery and manifests a new spirit of confidence which augurs well for the future. Meanwhile her Tory government is balanced by an awakening Liberalism and the enormous power of British Labor. France is still in financial collapse, with no man wise enough to point the way out, but her new and enlightened foreign policy promises just the relief necessary for recovery. Germany, under Von Hindenburg, is showing amazing moderation and strength. With the withdrawal of alien troops from her soil, and her admittance to the League of Nations, her poeple take new courage and rise in dignity and hope. Austria, emancipated at last from the disastrous tutelage of the League of Nations, regains her self-respect. Spain turns back from the dictatorship, and is again under a constitutional form of government. Russia is stabilized, her government gaining

daily in power and esteem, her economic condition climbing back to normal. Universal recognition of the Soviet Republic and her entrance into the League of Nations are events not far removed into the future. As outward sign and symbol of these changes are the Locarno agreements. These may be all that their critics say they are—an alliance of the West against Russia and the East, and thus a drawing of the line of battle in the next war, but they look to us rather to be the first steps toward the laying of the foundations of a durable peace in Europe. Over against these changes for the better must be set the Mosul embroilment, the hideous tragedies of Syria and Morocco, the constant menace of the Balkans, and the madness of Mussolini in Italy. This last is to us the blackest spot on the map today. The Fascist dictator is as irresponsible as Napoleon, and the moment he finds himself in difficulties at home, he will precipitate war abroad. All in all, the world is decidedly not yet out of the woods, but the thicket is less tangled than it was, and here and there a pathway is appearing.

It is a refreshing experience to find Dr. Stuart Chase, in his remarkable new book, "The Tragedy of Waste," describing military expenditures as so much sheer waste. He classifies the whole army and navy establishment, from the economic point of view, with the opium traffic, patent medicines, alcohol and tobacco, commercialized vice and crime, adulteration and quackery, as so much "illth," to use Ruskin's famous word, for which there is no compensation of any kind. As an instance of the extravagance involved, he cites the case of Heligoland, which took 24 years to fortify, at a cost of $175,000,000. Lost by Germany during the war and ordered destroyed by the Treaty of Versailles, the mountains of masonry were blown to bits at an expense of 60,000 feet of holes for blasting and 300,000 pounds of high explosives. "Untold man power," says Dr. Chase, "to destroy what untold man power had built." Even more serious than occasional extravagances of this kind, is the constant strain in maintaining the ordinary military establishment from day to day. The United States has a small army and navy as such things go. But the armed forces number 250,000 men, and the man-power involved in the form of government clerks and munition workers "probably reaches 500,000." Looking over the whole field, Dr. Chase states it as his belief that "perhaps a million workers contribute to the upkeep of the military establishment today." A million workers, in other words, whose labor is sheer waste, or worse than waste! Then, of course, come the enormous outlays on war itself, estimated in the case of the United States to total $43,980,000,000. Dr. Chase realizes that his description of "armaments—as an economic waste—will arouse fierce resentment in those hearts which look upon the army and the navy as the backbone of the national life." But he sticks to his guns! This thing is just waste—like dumping so much money into the sea. When we are civilized—if we ever are!—it will be stopped forthwith. And perhaps this end is nearer than we imagine, for "modern warfare has achieved a technique . . . of destruction which places it beyond the capacities of civilized peoples . . . to endure." Necessity may force us to do what we are so loathe to choose to do!

We wish that everybody would read Stuart Chase's book, referred to above. We know of no recent book which holds America up to such indictment, with such abundant information and such admirable good humor, as this thorough-going treatise on our national industrial life. Here do we laud ourselves to the skies as paragons of perfection in the matter of economic efficiency. Our business men are the ablest in the world today, our business system the most marvellously productive that the world has ever seen, our business methods the most exact and masterful that can be conceived. When was there anything quite so remarkable as the business life of this country? We may have no art, no music, little literature, less rather than more culture, but in business we are supreme! And now comes along this iconoclast, Stuart Chase, to smash the idol of American business efficiency. "Efficiency?" Nothing of the kind. The industrial processes of America are the most wasteful and therefore in the long run the most inexcusably inefficient in the whole wide world today. We produce vast quantities of unnecessary, useless and harmful things; we perpetually maintain an army of idle men; we waste incalculable wealth through bad productive methods, and we squander our natural resources as a drunken sailor squanders his wages. Summarizing his elaborate survey in terms of man-power, he finds:

The man-power going into illth is at least	8,000,000
The man-power idle on a given working-day is at least	6,000,000
The man-power wasted in production methods is at least	4,000,000
The man-power wasted in distributive methods is at least	2,500,000
A total of at least	20,500,000
Against an able-bodied adult population of approximately	40,000,000
Giving a minimum ratio of waste of about	50%

Here are facts well worth thinking about! What we need is a mobilization and organization of our industrial forces under some kind of a General Industrial Staff. We tried this with considerable success during the war, with astonishing results. But in peace time this would be Socialism, so of course it can't be thought of!

Readers of UNITY ought to know the monthly magazine, *The Libertarian,* published at Greenville, S. C. Readers of *The Libertarian* likewise ought to know UNITY. Both publications stand for certain goods

which Americans, not to say humans, immensely need: an effective zest to know and publish truth; an open and fearless mind, satisfied with no cloudiness of statement or sophistry of argument; a most wholesome and unusual wideness of human interest and sympathy that holds the latchstring out for men from whatever point of the compass they hail from, and traverses all boundary lines with a generous internationalism; and, perhaps most necessary at present, an active will, while "hitching its wagon to a star" to haul sound lumber and building stones wherewith to erect a suitable temple for a more righteous and happy society. Why then, if the two enterprises are so much alike, should the friends of the one be particular to be acquainted with the other? Because, in the first place, it is a great joy to discover here and there groups of people of whom you had not known, and it greatly heartens us to shake hands with these new friends, and thus to count an increase of wealth in its weightiest commodity, namely, friendship; as in the early days when Christianity was a valid religion, it must have made a red-letter day, traveling from Palestine into Egypt, to find that your gospel had already preceded you there in a particularly luminous form! Moreover, our two publications are not the same but quite different, each with its charactertistic tone of voice. And they give you a quite original diversity of subjects. Thus, *The Libertarian* for November offers a lively experiment in setting forth the story and the message of Henry George, with a striking résumé of the progress which has already been made by the new movement, associated with "Land and Liberty," toward the only just scheme of taxation that has ever been propounded. Hamlin Garland contributes memories of Henry George; Prof. H. G. Brown, of the University of Missouri, "shows up" the practice of eminent Liberals, who take the sniffy air toward the single tax, and advance cheap popular objections against it—like the Modernists in the Church, who make faces at the radicals outside! Mr. H. H. Harding, an engineer, fires brilliant shots at the Protectionists and leaves them no ground to stand on; there is also a rousing article of Tolstoy's, written in 1905. What marvelous faculty Tolstoy has to flood a subject with light! As soon as he begins to speak the light flows. There is no subject concerning human welfare in any department of action, or on any continent or island, which UNITY holds "common or unclean." Its readers, however, have to keep on a lively run to be able to appreciate the immense perspective of things, and to measure the relative sizes of the subjects presented for their consideration. May it not be that the writers of the history of our times will look back with wonder that even the prophets of our generation hardly did justice to the bigness of the need of the world for just this clear, humane and practical settlement of the possession of the land in every nation, for which our *Libertarian* friends in South Carolina are raising their brave cry? Can there be any question either that this highly economic business is essentially related to the development of that revival of spiritual religion for which lovers of men are straining their eyes over the whole earth?

We have purposely refrained all these weeks from expressing any opinion about the dirty, nauseating trial of Leonard Kip Rhinelander in which he sought the annulment of his marriage to Alice Jones because he claimed that he discovered after their marriage that she had Negro blood in her veins. The decision rendered by the jury in favor of Mrs. Rhinelander is rather surprising; not because she was utterly innocent of his charges, but because she had committed the unpardonable crime of being born a Negro! At the time of the trial wagers were six to one that no jury would force a white man to consider any Negro as his wife, no matter how legally they may have been married. Thus this jury's verdict indicates that public sentiment is at last shaking off its race prejudices. It also indicates that a poor person, even a poor black person, has some chance to get justice in our courts. As for Rhinelander himself—well, he is just another sample of what the possession of wealth without the simultaneous possession of character will do. Give a man lots of money, and if he has no character, no principles and no sense of responsibilities to God or man, then you have succeeded in producing one of the most damnable combinations in all the world—a characterless rich man. And central in the process of production in this case, as in others, is Rhinelander's family, similarly corrupted by money, pride, social prestige and the irresponsibility which such things bring. One knows not how to decide between contempt and pity for this miserable man.

The Commissioner of New York City parks stated the other day that a statue of Buddha may be erected in Central Park. Why not! We know of no better place for such a statue than right in the midst of a gay, superficial, pleasure-chasing, an ease-loving and money-thirsty city. We predict that if the Commissioner succeeds in placing this statue in Central Park a great cry will go forth concerning the invasion of paganism, and he may therefore find himself forced to deal with that 100% American organization, patriotically known as the Ku Klux Klan. Contrasting the philosophy of Buddha with that of Babbitt, one wonders which of the two are really pagan. If we must have our statues of Generals Sherman, Grant and Taylor, whose lives were dedicated to destruction and death, have we not the same right to erect statues to Buddha, Jesus and John Fox, whose lives were dedicated to construction and life? After all, is it not true that those whom we call our "illustrious dead," and to whom we therefore erect monuments, indicate what we as a people really consider of supreme worth?

What Made the Wise Men Wise?

The extraordinary career of Miss Helen Keller may serve to illustrate certain significant tendencies of modern thought. When Miss Keller was a child of eighteen months a grievous illness rendered her deaf, blind and speechless. In the story of her life, which in its field is one of the most remarkable documents of our time, Miss Keller says that the event which may be characterized as her soul's awakening happened when she was seven years old. Miss Sullivan had just come to her as a teacher from the Perkins Institution for the blind. To build up an association between those objects which came within the range of her experience only through handling or smelling, and the strange little tappings which her teacher was making in her hand, was a slow and laborious process. She tells how one day they were walking past the well-house where somebody was drawing water, and her teacher placed her hand under the spout. As the cool stream gushed over one hand, Miss Sullivan spelled into the other hand the word water, first slowly, then rapidly. In describing this experience many years later she says that suddenly she felt a misty consciousness as of something forgotten—a thrill of returning thought; and somehow the mystery of language was revealed to her. "I knew that water meant the wonderful cool something that was flowing over my hand," she says. "That living word awakened my soul, gave it light, hope, joy, set it free."

Now the transformation from the physical and mental imprisonment of that seven-year-old child to the woman of insight, intelligence and refinement which is today, marks one of the greatest miracles of modern times. Who can imagine the difficulty with which any normal person would be confronted if he were required to give a description of something which he had never seen—nor anything like it.

And yet there are few descriptions of a winter's storm in New England truer to the facts, or sharper in the atmosphere which it breathes than that which Miss Keller wrote many years ago. You can feel the sting of the wind and hear its howl. You can see the great drifts of snow, and the frost on the window pane. And then by contrast you gather about the fireside when night comes on, and listen to the merry tales. When, after several days of driving storm, you dig your way through the drifts, the sun's rays fall upon the trees like diamonds, and you are told with a bit of gripping pathos that the dazzling light almost penetrates the darkness that veils your eyes.

And so this matchless story goes on through later days during which as a student at Radcliffe College Miss Keller overcame obstacles that would seem insurmountable to a less wise and less disciplined person, down to the present moment in which with tireless persistence and rare intelligence she articulates her vision of a better world order.

Where did such wisdom come from? Where does the wisdom of the wise originate? Many persons have an idea that the Orient is particularly fertile in wisdom; and at this season of the year their opinions are reinforced by the repetition of the Nativity legends wherein we are told that amongst those who sought out the young child were certain wise men from the east.

First, what do you mean by wisdom? Prof. E. D. Starbuck in a recent monograph speaks of wisdom as "a body of organized and deepened information that gives one a workable hold on truth,"—however baffling the word truth may be. And he goes on to classify certain sources of wisdom, the significance and importance of which we are just beginning to understand. In our ordinary equipment we think of five senses, the so-called "higher" senses, as bringing to us pretty largely the sum total of our experience and contact with the external world—sight, hearing, touch, taste, smell. But observation has demonstrated that these senses are only a part of our equipment, and that while we may look upon them as priceless in the field of description or definition, there is another set of senses, pain, temperature, equilibrium, kinaesthetic, organic, constituting additional equipment known as the intimate senses by reason of the fact that they bring us directly into contact with the most important experience of life. In the field of morals, aesthetics, and religion these intimate senses are in large measure the source of such wisdom as we possess.

Take the kinaesthetic sense for example. It plays its role in the muscular reactions of the body, especially in the smooth and striped muscles, whose functions we are just beginning to understand. A familiar example of the way these muscles function is seen in the unconscious push one gives when his favorite football team is struggling to make that last yard over the goal line. One distinguished scientist has shown that even the untrained musician while listening to agreeable qualities of tone has his power to do muscular work practically doubled, while in listening to a dissonant tone his power of execution is essentially cut in half.

In a still larger field we have another sense,—the organic sense, so called, which includes all those internal mechanisms, those finely differentiated nerve endings which appear to be quite as sensitive to external impressions as the receiving set of your radio in its ability to select the vibrations of the ether. At the University of Iowa they have been conducting a series of interesting experiments to determine the degree to which reference has been made to these intimate senses in certain selected passages of classical literature. Among other selections chosen were the familiar lines in which Shakespeare describes the meanness of ingratitude, beginning, "Blow, blow, thou winter wind."

Now the surprising result was that in making a composite picture of the reaction on the students who had been trained to select the references to these intimate senses, it was found that whereas 25 references made a visual appeal, and 15 an auditory appeal, there were 20 which made a kinaesthetic, and 27 which might fairly be described as an appeal to the organic senses. The experiment was carried on in its application to some of the familiar passages in the bible, such as the 23rd psalm and the beatitudes, with the result that these senses which have received slight recognition, and which are little understood, are now seen to be of the most vital significance as sources of wisdom.

After all none of us sees beauty as a disembodied principle. Personality is a quality which you do not see in looking upon the form of a person. You see a human figure of a certain age or height or color. But the discernment of that indefinable thing which we speak of as personality depends in the last analysis upon these other senses, about which there is nothing mystical, but which do in fact enable us to distinguish good from bad, the desirable from the unlovely elements which go to make up the quality of our lives.

The eminent French sculptor Rodin confesses that the birth of his career as an artist dates from the day when a humble artisan reminded him that he was carving only in surfaces. He began to realize that he must treat his figure in a third dimension and feeling out the action of moods and muscles underneath, work from there out toward the surface.

What do we mean when we speak of a sensitive child, or a sensitive person? Not necessarily one whose sight and hearing are acute. On the other hand there are those as we well know in whom these senses are quite impotent who are still tuned to the finer things of life. Now these finer things of life are what we call the eternal values, such as sincerity, simplicity, beauty, human communion, death. But when one speaks of values he is very close to the domain of religion. In fact so far as these things are concerned religion may almost be looked upon as an additional organ in our sense equipment. Whatever else it may do it is designed to put us into a sensitive attitude toward the eternal values.

In spite of all the trappings and machinery of religion, sometimes even because of them man has become better tuned to these invisible forces. Primitive man, so greatly dependent upon his descriptive senses, used to define God in visual terms. The early Hebrews conceived of God as a person who walked in the garden in the cool of the day. And children seem to pass through a period in which this anthropomorphic concept grips their imagination. But the higher up in the scale one goes the more do these visual images fall away, until we conceive of God as spirit, and recognize that they worship him truly who worship him in spirit and in truth.

The thing that made the wise men wise, therefore, was not that they followed a star wandering about in the heavens. Merely trusting to one's visual reaction seldom gets one far. The wisdom of the wise whether of the east or the west consists in one's confidence in small beginnings, initial efforts—a babe in the manger—some struggling and painful attempt to make the angels' song of peace and good will serve for the healing of the nations. ALSON H. ROBINSON.

Jottings

An interesting and noble figure in this country today is the Venerable Anagarika Dharmapala, head of the Buddhist missions in India, Burma, Siam and Ceylon. He first came into public attention as the representative of Buddhism in the World Parliament of Religions in Chicago in 1893. On Buddha's birthday last spring Gandhi came to Dharmapala's Temple in Calcutta and seated beside him spoke on Buddhism.

A Congressman said of President Coolidge's message to Congress, that he "thought it one of the strongest documents the President has sent us up to this time." This strikes us as a perfect example of "damning with faint praise."

UNITY lays its wreath in grateful memory on the tomb of the late Clay MacCauley. It advises its readers who would know the story of a scholar and saint to peruse his autobiography, entitled "Memories and Memorials." His great work was in Japan, where he maintained for twenty-five years a mission of liberal religion and international brotherhood.

A new football coach reported recently as engaged at Columbia College at a salary of between $15,000 and $20,000 a year. This is twice and three times the salaries paid to eminent professors. Knute Rockne, in other words, is worth that much more to Columbia than John Dewey!

Wise and brave words were spoken at the meeting of the Executive Committee of the Federal Council of Churches in Detroit a fortnight ago. See Stetzle on prohibition, for example, and Morrison on chaplains! But, so far as we can judge from newspaper reports, the Committee found it "inexpedient" to take any decided position on any disputed question. We hope that official reports will correct this lamentable impression.

Within three days after the opening of Congress, Senator Borah had introduced a bill calling for the recognition of Russia, another authorizing the return of all alien property to Germans, and another taking from the State Department the power of exclusion as used in the Karolyi and similar cases. Here is one statesman at least who is mindful of our great American traditions! J. H. H.

American Notes

[Eitorial Correspondence]

I.

Every nation is interested in the mortality of its babies. It is rightly considered a mark of a good society, if few infants die before the age of one year. In this particular Australasia is among the envied of earth. America has never held a very good record. In 1915 as many as 100 babies out of every thousand died before they were one year old. This year, according to the report of Grace Abbott, chief of the U. S. Children's Bureau, not more than 75 or 77 out of a thousand died at that age.

"Education is doing it," she says. "Parents are learning that many deaths may be prevented by a knowledge of personal hygiene and the proper care of infants. That mothers are reaching out for more knowledge is demonstrated by the way they write to our office for information. We received last year 115,000 letters asking us everything under the sun. . . . So many requests came for names for baby that we compiled a list of suggestions which we now mail in answer to such letters. Our bureau is only one of the agencies at work educating the parents of the nation. The schools, the press, the clubs and the like are hammering away on the subject of cleanliness and sanity in eating and sleeping. . . . Education is doing it. . . . And the work is just beginning."

II.

What is called the "most significant document of its kind that has recently appeared" is the New Social Creed of the Congregational Churches of America. It was adopted at the national council, held in Washington, D. C. The fact that the President is a Congregationalist gives emphasis to anything that may be said or done by this Church. This Statement, or Creed, was adopted after two years consideration and after six hours of debate at the council. It is now the "law" of the churches, so far as anything in a Congregational church can be "law." The Statement covers the realms of education, economic and industrial relations, agriculture, racial relations and international relations. It has 36 points. It is forward looking. Educators would be delighted to hear the strong words concerning instruction in matters of health, concerning treatment of defectives and delinquents ("Jails and orphan asylums should be so conducted as to be genuine centers of education and health"). The significant thing is that the Congregational Church proposes to push a program of international education promoting peace and good-will and exposing the evils of war, intoxicants, illiteracy, and other social sins. The Creed speaks with considerable clearness on industrial matters. It stands for the abolition of child-labor, for the 8-hour day (far from universal in America), for national public employment bureaus and (a burning point) for a "minimum comfort wage being the first charge upon industry." This statement claims for labor the "right to organize and bargain" (not generally conceded in America). It urges "the supremacy of the service, rather than the profit motive in the acquisition and use of property on the part of both capital and labor, and the most equitable division of the product of industry that can be devised."

The Social Creed of the Congregationalists calls for the "elimination of racial discrimination" and the "practice of the American principle of the same protection and rights for all races who share our common life." When it comes to International Relations, the Social Creed walks upon burning ground, yet speaks plainly—a thing rather refreshing from churchmen and diplomats.

The removal of every unjust barrier of trade, color, creed, and race, and the practice of equal justice for all nations. . . . Discouragement of all misleading propaganda. . . . The abolition of military armaments by all nations except for an internal police force. . . .

The following point brought out hot debate and the end is not yet, one manufacturer declaring that its adoption would mean the withdrawal of much support, which remark brought forth the remark of Roger Babson from the platform (he too is a Congregationalist) that such a reason should have no weight among Christians. Here is the point: "That the Church of Christ as an institution should not be used as an instrument or an agency in the support of war."

The further significance of this creed is the fact that hundreds of Congregational ministers are preaching it to their people, establishing classes among their young people for its study and sending out delegations to "visit the churches." For instance, John Calder—president of the Social Service Commission—and Hubert Herring—its secretary—are touring the country from the Atlantic to the Pacific, preaching the "social gospel." Mr. Calder is a graduate of the Royal Technical College, Scotland, and was for ten years works manager of the Remington Typewriter Co. Later he introduced among the big Swift and Co. packing employes an industrial plan, which he claims is working for peaceful relationships. He says that his effort is to get the employers to do what ought to be done to bring about conditions that satisfy, by the introduction of the principles of the Sermon on the Mount into industry. I heard him address a Central Labor Council when he said:

The race is now on between the employers and the unions as to which will succeed best in bringing about better industrial conditions.

III.

Americans occasionally have the "truth" told them by passing travellers. One has just been here, Thomas G. Blaisdell, an Englishman. He had been visiting foreign countries for the purpose of studying education. Said he to a group of educators in Chicago, "Throughout the possessions and dependencies of the United States there is evidence of the militaristic tendencies of this country." Several incidents have come under my own eye which lead me to believe that he is correct. I frequently pass through a school-yard on my way to breakfast. Every morning at 8 o'clock the janitor marches solemnly out into the yard and hoists the flag. . . . I was present at the regular meeting of a local Women's Democratic club. As the close, the presiding

officer solemnly said, "We will all rise and salute the flag and sing the national anthem"—a procedure quite unknown before 1914. . . . There is a religious sect known as the "Elijah Voice Society." The members are good, plain people who are raising children, industrious, waiting "for the coming of their Lord" and claiming Jehovah as their "supreme law and authority." Several of them in Seattle have been arrested and fined for keeping their children out of school on the ground that "to salute the flag is idolatry." In one such case, the children have been taken from their parents and placed in reform schools. This, too, is something new for America, and carries out the contention of Mr. Blaisdell.

IV.

The "social worker" is quite an institution in America, and so is the "luncheon" as functioning agency. I would hazard the guess that half of America's business is planned about luncheon tables. The following "Lines on the Demise of a Social Worker" contains some humor, and is illustrative of American life. It is from the *Bulletin* of the Northwestern University Settlement, Chicago.

On Monday she lunched with the Housing Committee,
With statistics and stew she was filled;
Then attended a tea on "Crime in our City"
And dined with a Church Ladies' Guild.
On Tuesday she went to a "Babies Week" lunch
And a tea on "Good Citizenship."
At dinner she talked with the Trade Union bunch,
There wasn't a thing she dared skip.
On Wednesday she went to two annual dinners,
One happened at noon, one at night,
On Thursday a luncheon on "Bootlegging Sinners"
And a dinner on "War—Is It Right?"
"World Problems" so great was her Friday noon date,
(A luncheon, of course, you have guessed)
And she wielded a fork while a man from New York
Spoke at dinner on "Social Unrest."
On Saturday noon she fell in a swoon,
('Twas a luncheon on "Youth of Our Land")
Poor thing, she was through—she never came to,
And she died with a spoon in her hand.
Her death so distressing set all the world guessing.
"What caused it?" was everyone's question.
"A Martyr," sighed some—but wasn't that dumb—
For WE know it was plain indigestion.

SYDNEY STRONG

Essentials of Humanism

1. *The absolute uniqueness of each person's philosophy.*

A philosophy is the outgrowth of the unique nature and experience of the philosopher. The unique human equation cannot be removed from a philosophical system. Therefore philosophy is not one but many. This pluralism of human outlook shows the futility of seeking a universally valid cosmic point of view. Hence the humanist is at once egocentric in that he consciously looks upon life through his own windows, and essentially modest in that he is unwilling to read the impressions and ideas of individual persons into cosmic life as a whole. So he regards philosophy as a useful instrument, but as basically personal and improvable.

2. *Life is in the making and we are participants in the process.*

(a) The complement of the uniqueness of each person's philosophy is in the multiple and evolving nature of life itself. Life is a complex of personal and other-than-personal processes, which so inter-penetrate that neither can be regarded as "higher" than the other. Hence "personality" cannot be segregated and held to be more worthful than the "impersonal processes."

(b) To the humanist creative evolution is a fact, not a mere figure of speech. He takes evolution seriously, and so refuses to "sew up the Universe" or to "put the end in the beginning." New levels of creation actually result in new things, not in a mere readjustment of old things.

(c) The cause of the evolutionary process is not a push from below nor a pull from above, but a creative impulse within. Life processes are not mechanistic, but organic. A machine is built of inflexible parts; an organism is flexible and self-regulative. The moves of the parts of a machine are caused by anterior moves. The moves of the parts of an organism are caused by anterior moves, by inner changes, and by future possibilities—that is by ideas and ideals. The humanist believes mightily in the causal nature of things yet to be.

3. *The intelligent control of materials, processes, and ideals for human ends.*

Humanism is not a method of solving the problem of knowing, but an attitude toward the problem of making human life rich and full and glorious. It finds the test of worth in contribution to human well being. Its basic method of personal and social progress is intelligent co-operation with and control of life processes. The technique of co-operation and control must be worked out experimentally, and altered in the light of subsequent experience. But always the primary aim is central, viz., *human well being.*

CURTIS W. REESE

DUSK

Softly the shadows fall, the flowers close,
The discourse of the winds dies slowly down,
Until at last dark silence covers those
Miraculous glories day had called its own.
Death is like this—a dusk that drifts upon
Beauty, to dim the dream, to brush the breast
Of Memory with many a dear thing done,
And voices vanished, and at last rich rest.

Who shall pronounce that Death must be the end?
That from its twilight no soul shall proceed
To other lives where moon and stars befriend
The soaring spirit in its noblest need?
Who shall make Death seem less than dusk between
Two lives: one brief, intense; one vast, serene?

PHILIP EMERSON WOOD.

SONG

For me the jasmine buds unfold,
And silver daisies star the lea;
The crocus hoards the sunset gold,
And the wild rose breathes for me.
I feel the sap through the bough returning,
I share the skylark's transport fine;
I know the fountain's wayward yearning—
I love, and the world is mine!

I love, and thoughts that sometime grieved,
Still, well remembered, grieve not me;
From all that darkened and deceived
Upsoars my spirit free.
For soft the hours repeat one story,
Sings the sea one strain divine,
My clouds arise all flushed with glory—
I love, and the world is mine!

—*Florence Earle Coates.*

Confessions of a Libertarian

I have spent about half of a long life in unpaid efforts to promote human liberty. I now suspect that it was largely wasted effort. I had the misfortune to have been "educated" by quite ignorant college professors. Like all "educated persons," I was instructed in *what* to think, rather than *how* to think according to mature intellectual methods. Only recently have I learned the difference. I don't believe that even now university professors know the distinction between childish and mature mental processes. I once believed most of what they told me and therefrom have come my mis-spent years of patient toil and research, in the futile effort to promote human liberty. This is my confession. That confession I now wish to explain.

I was educated as a lawyer, and for about a dozen years I was engaged very actively in the practice of that profession. By such education I was led to believe that the law was the very essence and "perfection of reason," and the judges and legislators, I was led unconsciously to assume, were reasoning animals. Of course, all other humans were likewise assumed to be reasoning animals, for only on this assumption can they be qualified to choose those among their number, who were the most expert at "right reasoning," and therefore induce them to preside as judges and function as legislators. The Constitution and its elaborate political machinery were especially constructed, so as to protect all of us in the most important and therefore guaranteed human liberties. These latter were written into the Constitution, as "Bills of Rights." Because it was written in the Constitution, we were all led to act as if all of us knew the plain meaning, which of course would be the same for all of us. Chief among these "rights," according to my interest, and most fundamental according to my understanding, were the various guarantees for an unabridged freedom of speech and of the press. Hence I set about to do the quite superfluous work of clarifying and applying the constitutional guarantees for 100% of intellectual liberty, which I had been falsely taught was loved by everybody.

Through many years I made exhaustive historical and scientific researches, to make still plainer the historic issues that culminated in a supposed reversal and prohibition of the previous traditional British policy of censorship. These historic facts and classic arguments are supposed to have induced the formulation of our constitutional guarantees, as the recorded judgment of an exceptionally intelligent people. I had been miseducated to believe that, if only I brought this research and its inevitable conclusion to the public attention, every "intelligent" person would see the point and proclaim me a wise friend of mankind; that the judges of our courts would show an open-minded, generous appreciation of my intellectual labors, and would seriously consider all the rediscovered fruits of my painstaking, time-consuming research, I never dared to question. That the judges would co-ordinate all this vast material, so as to give humanity an unusual example of "the perfection of reason," in whatever might be their better subsequent application (interpretation) of the Constitution, it would have been treason to doubt.

Since much of our *modern* censorship hinges around problems of sex and "morality" I made such special investigation to help the courts understand the psychologic problems, involved in the matter of judging the mental and "moral" influence of so-called "obscenity." Here, especially, I was delving into a new realm which legislators and judges could not be supposed to have made the subject of special research, and therefore I might presume that these would be grateful, as also the oppressed and censored ones. If now I could co-ordinate such unusual data with the previous, and as I thought more or less obvious, historical meaning of our constitutional guarantees for intellectual freedom, I would surely be rendering our legislators and judges a valuable and appreciated service.

But, again, I was disappointed. About 160 published magazine essays and five large volumes published for the promotion of intellectual freedom, all representing many years of diligent labor for which not one dollar was received, instead of bringing me some acclaim as a friend of man, only brought me under suspicion as an enemy of society. My new arguments and unusual researches were frequently brought to the attention of legislators and courts. Did they welcome my efforts and my new material, as an aid to clearer and maturer thinking? Never! Did they ever give any sign that these newer arguments and unusual data had even in the least influenced their judgment? Not at all! Did they, in expressing any dissent from my conclusions, or in reaffirming the doctrines of freedom as announced by the minions of tyrants by divine right, deign to show the error of my reasoning in comparison with their own "perfection of reason?" Of course not!! The presentation of this new material was never even admitted, much less considered. The "perfection of reason," as announced by Judges Jeffries and Blackstone, and by the infamous Star Chamber court, was indeed so perfect that it might well be an insult to the judicial intelligence to offer any new considerations which the servants of "the Royal Brute of Britain," before our revolution, had overlooked. It must have been felt that to ask our courts to overrule the prerevolutionary conception of liberty was sacrilege. This was the inevitable consequence of the lawyer's blind, religious devotion to precedent. Those who may read the judicial opinions in the cases wherein my unusual research and new arguments were used, would never suspect that anything but stale and discredited precedents had been called to the attention of the court. All the product of years of unusual research, which could have delighted any open mind, even though it failed to produce new convictions, was as completely ignored as if it did not exist. Obviously it was easier, for the judges of our courts of last resort, to pretend that they had nothing new called to their attention and to reaffirm antique precedents, than to face the facts and show their "perfection of reason" by the more intelligent use of this unusual range of modern knowledge. So I discovered that "the perfection of reason" consists in an accumulation of antique erudition, used in support of immature impulses and childish preconceptions.

Although policemen have had the good fortune to escape from the standardizing influence of our "higher" institutions of learning, it is a mistake to assume them to show more intelligence than do our judges. By other methods they too have gotten their ignorance properly and conventionally standardized. Accordingly, when I advertised to deliver free lectures on the his-

toric interpretation of our constitutional guarantees of free-speech, it happened that the managers of the lecture courses would be threatened with arrest; at other times the owner of the hall would be threatened with having his hall-license cancelled. At still other times a line of policemen barred the entrance to the hall to keep me as well as the audience outside. What did the prosecutors, and lawyers associations and courts do about it? Oh—they just laughed, just as I imagine the late Tsar laughed under similar circumstances before the Russian Revolution. What else could really "educated gentlemen" do for their country or to promote human liberty but to laugh at any one who took our constitutional guarantees seriously?

What, then, was wrong with me and my voluminous discussion? In spite of my proud researches in psychology, I was so ignorant of psychology as to have believed that "the law is the perfection of reason." I was so silly as to think that the judges and I had an "open mind" and were eager to avail ourselves of every sincere effort to furnish illumination. As I now view it, nothing can be farther from the fact.

What, then, was wrong with me and my arguments? It was the folly of believing that man has reached a stage of development where he is a reasoning animal; and the ignorant prejudiced notion, that judges and legislators are devoted to upholding the Constitution as it was written, and with the historic meaning of the human experience, as that filtered through the minds of those who framed our guarantees of liberty. I now believe that our various constitutions are useful only as a shibboleth used to furnish a seeming justification for satisfying the will to power, of politicians, and other victims of childish compulsions.

Since these years of my monumental folly, I have been studying genetic and evolutionary psychology. Now I know better than formerly. Humans, generally speaking, are not reasonable animals at all. Like all other animals, humans are only seeing and feeling animals. There is no such being as an unprejudiced human. Practically, all thought and talk of such unprejudiced humans is but the vain prattle of our psychologic infantilism. Instead of seeking for an unprejudiced legislator or judge, we should be inquiring at what evolutionary level of desire and mental processes the prejudices of any given judge were formed. At what level of morbid intensity are the inevitable existing prejudices being held by any given person? From this viewpoint we see that with very rare exceptions, judicial opinions are mere special pleas, so framed that the emotional crowd can adjudge them plausible justifications for its popular ignorance. Where the great fundamental problems of human liberty are concerned. most of the juridical utterances are but the rationalization of immature desires, by means of childish mental processes, all serving as a convenient mask, or neutralizer, for a painful though often unconscious feeling, past or present, of inadequacy. Sometimes all this is made quite imposing to our moron civilization, by the show of considerable erudition, to support ill-concealed and immature prejudices. After I shall have formulated my concept of psychologic evolution, I will some day take time to make an elaborate justification for the foregoing conclusions, by a critical study of some judicial decisions involving free speech problems.

I am now convinced that the reasonableness of the demand for the largest equal freedom will never secure it to humanity. Not all, even among scientists, have reached the stage of development where they even seriously question the infallibility of their predispositions. If this were not so, they would quite uniformly seek the aid of a more conscious and more thorough coordination of new data, as a means of checking and correcting their own prejudices, which are too often working below the surface of consciousness, especially when dealing with social problems. Unfortunately such maturity of intellectual methods has not yet manifested itself, even as an inconspicuous ornament of the judicial bench, nor by any other important official or political group, concerned with problems of liberty. Much less is there any evidence that judges, or moral reformers, have made, or care to make themselves acquainted with the influence of the subconscious, feelingful determinants of their own prejudices and acts, as these are being revealed by the genetic psychologists.

Such liberty as the human race has achieved is not the product of reason or observation. On the contrary, what liberty is conceded to us poor mortals has only come when the conflict between competitors for tyrannous mastery became so equally balanced, that it seemed to force a choice between mutual extermination or compromise. Such compromises, made under the compulsion of fear, have been the only practical promoter of liberty. Theories about liberty are mere rationalizations of wish-fulfilling phantasies. Later they become mere impotent glorifications of the achieved. I see now that it was only psychologic ignorance which made me think that such reasoning about liberty had anything to do with the effect, or could, in the present state of our moron civilization, bring about a substantial enlargement of liberty. At present our herd leaders still lack the intelligence to lead through understanding. They are blind leaders of the blind, through appeals to instinctive feeling only. With our present mode of politics, of education and especially the dominance of the religious methods, we must suffer much more from the tyranny of our morbidly self-righteous and childishly self-centered masters, before a successful revolt will occur. I also fear that we, humanity as a whole, have not yet attained a sufficient maturity in our intellectual methods to bring about any important fundamental change, by wholly peaceful, educational means. I fear that the substantial enlargement of our freedom will come only when the victims of our present system are driven desperately to seek a bitter revenge. In their effort to establish a new tyranny, another compromise will be forced for an enlarged mutual tolerance. It seems to me that it is in this direction that the human institutions are actually, even though unconsciously driving us.

This tentative prophecy of mine will not be confirmed by the eventualities, if I have underestimated the maturity of our human psyche. As I now see it, the larger tolerance, upon which depends a cheerful acceleration of a growing liberty, through voluntary co-operation to that end, is wholly a matter of psychologic maturing, such as cannot be attained under an educational system which is dominated by a superstitious reverence for precedents and for past achievement, and whose urge is unconsciously pushing toward inducing an emotional fixation of desires and mental processes at existing infantile or childish levels. The great crowd, and our political masters can, by their own initiative and by practice, admit the larger claims of the greatest equal liberty, *only when* we have attained much maturer intellectual methods, such as will include

an eagerness for the dominance of "sweet reasonableness" *and the facts* as applied to *all* of life. Such a love of facts is something very different from "kidding" the other fellow into letting us have our way. This, then, will include the concept of growth by consciously accelerating the natural processes of change. With this state of mind we will be more zealous to understand others, and to be understood, than we are to impose our morbid wilfulness, defended under the guise of morals. Then, also, most of us will be quite certain that all our predispositions (prejudices) must be treated with suspicion, and subjected to the conscious check and corrective of a wider knowledge of the facts of human existence, combined through and with "sweet reasonableness," before being made the basis for forcibly, even though legally, imposing our will upon others.

The dominance of the saddist reformer, and megelomanic authoritarian, must not merely be overthrown by a different but equally morbid reformer, but humanity must *outgrow* the sado-masochist conflict, and the master-slave conflict, through which alone all war propaganda and the "morality" by force becomes effective. Yes! These are rather technical concepts, and it is just because only a few readers will adequately fill out the picture which these words symbolize for me, that I see the real achievement of a permanent, larger liberty as being yet a very long way off. It is because I now see all this as a problem of wholesome psychologic maturing (that is, of mental hygiene), rather than as a matter of the mere verbal acceptance of libertarian statements of theory, that I now consider most of my past effort as misdirected. I accept the fact that progress is slow. I am disillusioned but not discouraged. My effort for the future will be of a different nature. We few must all keep on the job, even though evolution is a very slow process. We will accelerate the evolution toward larger liberty just in proportion to our intelligence and persistence, each doing our little best to expose the insanity and infantilism among our political and "moral" leaders.

THEODORE SCHROEDER.

THE STUDY TABLE

Politics in Asia

Mrs. Marguerite E. Harrison, who has already written stories of ther personal adventures in "Marooned in Moscow" and "Unfinished Tales from a Russian Prison" is out with a new book—"Red Bear or Yellow Dragon?"[1] She disarms criticism by stating that she does not claim her book "to be a serious analysis of Far Eastern problems." Yet the excuse for the present book is "the new riddles for the West to guess." Among these riddles are—

> What were the actual reactions to the (Washington) Conference? What was the real attitude of Japan towards naval disarmament? What were the new movements and tendencies that would influence the shaping of Japan's future internal and external policies? How far could the agreements of the powers, with regard to the Far East, be carried out without reckoning with the Russian Bear? etc. etc.

Mrs. Harrison leaves us with a riddle also—is it, or was it, worth while, all this restless energy she expended? She darkly hints that she was a spy, out for important information; she says that the Cheka, in her former experience, arrested her "with quite sufficient grounds, I must admit." Yet we do not see that she possesses the qualities of a good spy. She is too set in her own opinion, too pronounced in her likes and dislikes, too sensitive to first impressions, too emotional and sympathetic (with insufficient grounds) for one to feel that her findings would have great value to any government. That aside, however, she has made a strange and hard journey "in order to make a political weather chart" of her own. She planned to go around the world, but the significant part of her journey was Yokohama to Sakhalien, China, the Far Eastern Republic, Mongolia—and so to Moscow. The district traversed has unquestioned political importance. Her trip did not turn out just as expected. While she was out the Far Eastern Republic crumbled and she found herself within Soviet territory, which had been forbidden to her. She was arrested, taken to Moscow and put in prison. It took three months to learn her condition and secure her release. The book is interesting—most so as a revelation of the author's personality. She says it consists of snapshots, not studio pictures. It contains much that deserves serious consideration. It is largely chitchat and gossip and personal reaction to unusual situations. It is naturally feminine. Feminine in the spite that vents itself in the characterizations of Lennox Simpson (Putnam, Weale, etc.) and of Mrs. Wellington Koo; feminine in her poignant dissatisfaction that Japanese women remain Japanese, while every page of her book shows her as a hopelessly American woman of the narrowest type, notwithstanding the experiences, which might have been expected to cosmopolitanize her to some degree; feminine in the fondness for being photographed, wherever possible with her proteges or victims. So far as the book is serious, it is summed up in the statement: "On the fringe of Asia I found an unreconstructed Ypres and a Far Eastern Ruhr; people still living under war conditions; race antagonisms, national aspirations, imperialism; side by side with vague concepts of internationalism and an immense weariness of all things political."

We confess to no great liking for Harvey A. Franck's books, though we have tried to like them. We believe his "Wanderings in Northern China" to be his best work and we hope the book before us, "Glimpses of Japan and Formosa,"[2] is his worst. So far as it relates to Japan it contains almost nothing but spleen. He says he wanted to see just how the Japanese lived; but he found nothing to suit him. Twice he grazes something that is unhackneyed enough to develop—the carpenters' celebration and the ceremonies at Ise, connected with the reconstruction of the national shrines, but he does little with them. Many of his statements regarding Japanese are ridiculous; some are erroneous. Funny beyond expression is his description of an exciting adventure with a maddened Ainu chieftain in Hokkaido. That notable travel-writer, A. Henry Savage Landor, also had a blood-curdling episode in Ainuland. Who else but these two intrepid explorers ever had difficulty of that sort, with these too yielding and timid people? In Formosa there seem to have been but two incidents that made any deep impression on Mr. Franck. One was where his Japanese landlady, in guiding him

[1] *Red Bear or Yellow Dragon?* Margaret E. Harrison. New York: 1924. George H. Doran Co. 8°. pp. viii 9-296.

[2] *Glimpses of Japan and Formosa.* New York: 1924. The Century Co. 16°. pp xi. 235.

to the bath, showed unabashed modesty in presence of another, naked, occupant. Her modesty seems to have shocked our author. *Honi soit qui mal y pense!* The other, was when he made the trip, on a car pushed by man-power, into the mountain forest. He takes himself very seriously in this Formosan glimpse and thinks that any courtesies he received from Japanese officials were due to fears of what he might write. If he really looked upon these courtesies as bribes and accepted them, he proves ungrateful. But, why take Mr. Franck seriously? If all one wants is a sketchy tale of a hasty trip into the Hokkaido, to Koyasan, to Ise,—with a minimum of fact, a deal of misunderstanding, and much ill-nature, he will find it here. There are people who, at times, want just that sort of thing.

"The Torchbearer" is the Rishi Dayanand, founder of the Arya Samaj.[3] The author is Prof. T. L. Vaswani, to whose writings we have sometimes called attention. The occasion is the Centenary celebration of Dayanand's birth. It took place last year throughout India. Prof. Vaswani is *not* a member of the Arya Samaj, nor is he in agreement with all of Dayanand's views. But he sees in Dayanand a real *rishi,* and considers him a great leader and a glory for India. He says:

> And I, a lover of Unity, see the Great Ones as Brothers in the one Family of the Spirit. I bow in affectionate reverence to all the leaders of the Religious Renaissance in Modern India. Each one of them is a witness to India's vision through the ages, each one a Herald of the Future, each one a Torch-bearer.

Hence, when asked by the Centenary Committee to write a contribution on its celebration, he gladly consented. The book is not a biography. It is rather a collection of essays appreciative of the Rishi, or suggested by something in his life and character. Not all the essays are new, some of them have been printed elsewhere. Our author finds much to admire in the man, Dayanand, thus—"his love of reality, his passion for truth. Every inch of this man is sincerity. Even when at the height of his fame, he gives himself no supernatural airs. He founds no *gadi.*" Another admirable quality is his strength and fearlessness. It was no easy thing in *his* time to preach the admission of the untouchable—the sudra—to the fellowship and to teach care of the orphan and the widow. Yet these were ever fundamental principles in the Arya Samaj. Dayanand emphasized the need of education, and education along the lines of the *gurukul* and the forest-sheltered *asram.* Vaswani does not see only a *rishi* in the man. He says: "I see running through his life a three-fold thread, that of a *rishi,* a *yogi* and a hero of action." Rarely are three so diverse elements strongly developed in one man, but the Rishi Dayanand was a rare man. It is well to call the attention of Young India to the lessons of his life, at this centenary time.

Another, earlier, book by the same author is "The Spirit and Struggle of Islam."[4] It consists of a series of essays, containing considerable repetition, prepared at various times, and some of them printed before. Several of them were written at the moment when the Hindu Muslims had made their plea for justice and been rebuked. All of them are appreciations of the thought, achievement and influence of Islam. They are a plea for combination and unity. They beg Mohammedans and Hindus to unite heartily in the demand for Indian freedom and for peace and opportunity for all of Asia. He prays that force may not be used in order to secure the desired and just ends. He holds that with calm and non-resistant front, combined Muslim-Hindus, ready to endure all, to dare all, can through "non-co-operation" gain independence and freedom of thought, of ideals, of action.

FREDERICK STARR.

[3] *Torch-bearer.* T L Vaswani Karachi (India); 1924. Dayanand Centenary Committee 16°. pp. 190.

[4] *The Spirit and Struggle of Islam.* T. L. Vaswani. Madras: 1921. Ganesh and Co. 16°. pp. xvi. 179.

Children and China

China, so far, at least, as the attitude of the West is concerned, has been the victim of her own remoteness and difference—qualities which have endowed her with thick-scented mystery. Travelers' tales of doubtful truthfulness have provided bases for wild flights of the imagination, which have attached themselves to China because China is real enough to Westerners to lend plausibility to such fantastic narratives, but not real enough to most people to make even a semblance of verifiable accuracy obligatory. These stories grip the attention and excite the interest, and the result is that most people form their impressions of this country from reading or hearing them, or from seeing them in the movies. Thus we know that in their own land the Chinese (usually maligned by the much disliked name of "Chinaman") wear long knives for murderous purposes concealed in their pig-tails, eat rats and poodle-dogs, boil their mothers-in-law in oil, and generally rejoice in wickedness; while abroad they act in the peculiarly dark ways exhibited by Bret Harte and Saxe Rohmer in their contributions to the understanding of China. Much of this material would be innocent enough in effect were it not for the fact that there is not a widely enough diffused body of valid information to correct the impressions it leaves—impressions which make children scurry across the street when they see the laundryman approaching, or which give older persons fearful thrills when they venture into Chinatown by night. Except for works which appeal only to a relative few, the only alternative to these weird stories of malice and intrigue, or absurd ridiculousness, have been missionary sobbings with all the differences between the East and West exaggerated to arouse pity and a feeling of Western superiority. It is scarcely to be wondered at when oriental immigrants are excluded by a nation nourished on this sort of insidious falsehood.

Now, though, it is possible to give both children and adults sane and wholesome books picturing the Chinese as they are, and calculated more to draw the peoples together than to increase the already too-wide breach of fable-born suspicion and ill-will. Of these books those for children are by far the most important, for the impressions of babes persist to bias the judgments of men and women. The proper books in the hands of the children will weigh as heavily as any other single factor in the development of genuine international brotherhood.

Foremost and most recent among the books which through accuracy and sympathetic understanding may cultivate real friendship among the boys and girls of the West for their playmates-by-proxy of the East is Dorothy Rowe's "The Rabbit Lantern."* Miss Rowe

*"The Rabbit Lantern," by Dorothy Rowe.—Macmillan.

writes of the Chinese children with the intimacy of one who was herself a child among them, for she has grown up in China. That her stories are authentically Chinese is guaranteed by Professor Lucius Porter's introduction to the book, while the reviewer, from his own experience, ventures to offer his support of the statements of the introduction.

The book contains a dozen stories written in a simple, graceful, and friendly style. Readers who remember Miss Rowe's essays and poems in UNITY (1 and 15 May, 30 October, 6 November 1924, 26 January 1925) will not be surprised at the poetic quality of the tales, or wonder that the poet-author writes not only of and for children, but happily preserves the viewpoint of a child. She is not hampered by any compulsion to introduce strained plots and impossible adventures, or to indulge in over-much of explanation. As a result the stories move along easily and pleasantly, full of interest, but without artificiality. The very naturalness of them should win the children. Occasionally the author permits herself some such remark as, "Wouldn't it be funny if in your school all the class would learn their spelling out loud?" which tends to call attention to differences subjectively when simple objective presentation would be preferable. But these occasions are so few, and always so ably interpreted, that they do not mar the general effectiveness of the book. A specially noteworthy feature is the Chinese illustrations, done as they are done for Chinese books, by an accomplished Chinese woman artist.

So worth-while is this book, both artistically and for helping the growth of friendly feeling among the children who read it, that surely it is not too much to hope that every American child may have an opportunity to become well acquainted with Little Baldhead, Way Ping, Golden Daughter, and the others. Thus may these companions from the book partake of a little of the herb of immortality which the Moon-rabbit on the book's cover stirs so assiduously in his mortar.

Peking, China. BENJAMIN F. MARCH.

CORRESPONDENCE

THREE TELEGRAMS ON THE LOCARNO PACT

(Cablegram)

Chicago, Ill., October 22, 1925.

To Lord Robert Cecil,
League of Nations, London, England.

Locarno Security Pact is official recognition my original conception Abolition of Neutrality. Congratulations to League of Nations for its efforts in making possible such decisive step toward universal permanent peace. I hope efforts will continue until my principle Abolition of Neutrality will be proclaimed and applied in its entirety by all nations of the world.

LUIGI CARNOVALE.

(Telegram)

Chicago, Ill., October 22, 1925.

To Honorable President Calvin Coolidge,
Washington, D. C.

I have the honor to respectfully call your attention to the fact that the Security Pact of Locarno is in its substance the official recognition on the part of great European nations of my original conception the Abolition of Neutrality.

With my monograph entitled How America Can Easily and Quickly Prevent Wars Forever, published in Chicago last spring, and with subsequent telegrams to you, I begged you to officially proclaim my principle the Abolition of Neutrality as a prelude to Universal Perpetual Peace. But you have given me no heed.

The Security Pact of Locarno demonstrates that my pleas were based upon very acute foresight and that you in disregarding them deprived yourself of an immortal honor and what is more you deprived the United States of the supreme joy and glory of becoming the greatest perpetual benefactor to Humanity.

However, since you seem willing to work seriously for the complete triumph of Peace, you still have ample opportunity to act. With the Security Pact of Locarno my principle the Abolition of Neutrality was proclaimed by Italy and England to be applied in event of Germany attacking France or Belgium or in event of France attacking Germany; and by France in event of Germany attacking Poland or Czechoslovakia. Now, you can proclaim my principle the Abolition of Neutrality in its netirety as it covers all nations and all wars and at the same time automatically solves the secondary question of disarmament for which you stand. My best wishes.

LUIGI CARNOVALE.

(Cablegram)

Chicago, Ill., October 22, 1925.

To Lord Austen Chamberlain,
London, England.

I felicitate your Honor and beg you present my congratulations to delegates of nations assembled to ratify Locarno Pact which is first official endorsement and practical application of my original conception, Only the Abolition of Neutrality can prevent wars forever, which in 1917 I presented in my book Why Italy entered into the Great War and in my subsequent publications. With my congratulations I extend the wish that my conception will soon be endorsed and applied by all nations of the world so that universal permanent peace may finally become a reality. Thanks.

LUIGI CARNOVALE.

"CAPACITY TO PAY"

Editor of UNITY:

It seems to me that Mr. Levinson in his article "Capacity to Pay" (UNITY, Nov. 23), disregards certain important elements of the problem of the war debts and hardly deserves such lavish editorial praise.

1. Inquiry into a debtor's capacity to pay is not an "elastic, absurd, treacherous principle." It belongs to no "new financial philosophy" just "invented." In all bankruptcy proceedings such inquiry is made, and the reasonableness of it as advantageous to all parties concerned is unquestionable.

2. Mr. Levinson says that "no one in his right mind believes that either the French government or the body of French citizens are bankrupts." Nevertheless I hazard the assertion that the French government is practically bankrupt. It is not able to pay its debts when they become due. Its money has depreciated in purchasing power, as compared with our money, by four-fifths. That is another way of saying that it has already virtually repudiated a considerable part of its debts. Payment by France to our country of the sum borrowed in war time, principal and interest amounting to billions of dollars, is a sheer impossibility within any predictable future. Such an enormous loan could not have been made except for the extremely abnormal conditions in Europe caused by the World War. An attempt to pay would only prolong abnormal conditions. The fact is that for years to come, instead of receiving payment for the war loans, we must lend more money still to war-torn Europe in order to restore it to economic health.

3. Mr. Levinson's contention that the private creditors of France should fare no better than our government, which theoretically represents all the people, seems to me sound in the abstract. But our government can be dealt with in its corporate capacity as an individual, while the private holders of foreign government bonds are numbered, I suppose, by thousands. Furthermore, our government's claim is very much greater than the claims of all the private creditors in our country put together. It is therefore not surprising that the French government, or any other European debtor, should seek leniency from our government rather than from the private creditors scattered among our people.

4. Mr. Levinson says that "France is not willing to tax herself one dollar to pay us any part of our debt, principal or interest." One might infer that taxation in France is light. The fact is that twice as large a percentage of the total income of the French people is taken by taxation as is taken in our country, although that income is *per capita* only about a third of the income of our people. The amount France will collect from Germany nobody knows.

5. I condemn the military expenditures of France. But let us not forget that our country is spending more for armament

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

THE AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR JUSTICE TO CHINA

IS ORGANIZED TO AID IN SECURING:

1. Tariff autonomy for China.
2. The abolition of extra-territoriality in China.
3. The return of all foreign concessions, settlements and leases to China and the restoration of her full sovereignty.
4. The withdrawal of American troops from Chinese soil and American warships from Chinese waters.
5. The alteration and cancellation of our existing unequal treaties with China to give her the status of equality.
6. Necessary relief for those in China who suffer in the struggle for her freedom.
7. The withdrawal of the support or protection of our government from its citizens' participation in the International Settlement of Shanghai until that Settlement abandons the principle and practice of taxation without representation and restores the Mixed Court to its original treaty status.

WHY?

Do you realize that whereas the dumping of British owned tea into Boston harbor resulted in the independence of the United States, the dumping of British owned opium into the river at Canton resulted in the subjection of China to Western powers, through a series of treaties forced upon her, taking away major portions of her most vital sovereign rights?

Do you understand that the United States through its merchants, manufacturers, bankers, and missionaries has participated in and profited by the special unequal treaties, by guns and bayonets?

Do you know that in the Shanghai strike following the shooting of unarmed students by foreign police (May 30, 1925) we supplied 13 out of 20 war ships to maintain the policy of control and taxation of Chinese by foreigners without representation, that our marines were quartered in a Chinese University and High School arbitrarily closed by foreign orders, that our naval forces are still (October 15, 1925) on shore serving as police at Shanghai?

Do you appreciate the fact that in the circumstances we may at any moment by the work of a consul or the act of a naval officer or a marine be engaged in war with China without any authorization by Congress?

Do you realize that unless this situation is changed the historic friendship that China has for us because of our past policy is bound to be transformed into enmity?

WHAT THEN IS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF AMERICAN CITIZENS WHO LOVE JUSTICE, DESIRE FREEDOM AND SEEK FRIENDSHIP?

LET US ACT AND ACT ALONE IF NEED BE.

CHINA'S DEMANDS

1. Cancellation of State of Emergency.
2. Release of all Chinese arrested in connection with this affair (Shanghai student demonstration of May 30, 1925) and restoration to original state of all educational institutions in the International Settlement sealed and occupied by the authorities.
3. Punishment of offenders. To be suspended pending investigation and thereafter to be seriously dealt with.
4. Compensation for the dead and wounded and for the damage sustained by the laborers, merchants and students in connection with this affair.
5. Apology.
6. Rendition of Mixed Court. Complete restoration to the state consistent to the provisions of the treaties. When any Chinese is prosecuted under the Criminal Code of the Republic of China or under the Municipal By-Laws, the prosecution shall be in the name of the Republic and not in that of the Shanghai Municipal Council.
7. All the employees of the foreigner, seamen and workers of mills and factories and others who turned out on strike in sympathy shall be reinstated and their wages during the period of the strike shall not be deducted.
8. Better conditions for the laborers. Any laborer may work or not on his own accord and shall not be punishable for refusal to work.
9. Municipal franchise.

(a) The Chinese may participate in the Municipal Council and ratepayers' meetings. The ratepayers' representation in the Council shall be in proportion to the amount of the rate payable and paid to the Municipal revenues and the qualifications for franchise of the Chinese shall be similar to those of the foreigners.

(b) For the purpose of the franchise, distinction shall be made as to the beneficial and trust (or legal) interests of property; with the beneficial interest. The right of franchise shall accompany and in the case of the trust interest, such right shall be exercised by the beneficial owner thereof.

10. Restraint to construct roads beyond boundaries. The Shanghai Municipal Council shall not construct roads beyond the settlement boundaries; those roads which are already so constructed shall be unconditionally turned over to the Chinese Government.
11. Withdrawal of the resolutions concerning printed matters, increase of wharfage dues and licensing of exchanges.
12. All Chinese residents of the Settlement shall have liberty of speech, assembly and publication.
13. Dismissal of the Secretary of the Municipal Council E. S. B. Rowe.

THE PROMISES OF THE NINE POWERS

The United States, Belgium, the British Empire, China, France, Italy, Japan, the Netherlands, and Portugal agreed upon at the conference on the Limitation of Armaments 1921-1922 include agreements:

1. To "respect the sovereignty, the independence and the territorial and administrative integrity of China."
2. To grant "the fullest and most unembarrassed opportunity to China to develop and maintain for herself an effective and stable Government."
3. To allow equal opportunity for all nations in China's commerce and industry—otherwise the principle of the "open door."

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than France although, as Mr. Hughes said when Secretary of State, we are in no danger of aggression by any power or possible combination of powers as far as we can see into the future.

6. Mr. Levinson makes no distinction between debts incurred to carry on war and debts incurred to promote production. The difference is vital. Money loaned to be used as capital provides for its own payment through increased production. But money loaned for the purpose of war impoverishes the borrower. Our war loans had for their direct result vast destruction of European wealth and of European ability to produce wealth. Thus by making those loans we conferred no benefit but rather inflicted injury. To ask for payment now is to add insult to injury. It is mockery, only partly excusable by the popular ignorance of economics. The least we can do, in common decency, is to cancel the debts incurred before the armistice.

7. Our well nigh unanimous interpretation of the war, after we entered it and began to make loans, as a war to save civilization, in which the British and French had kept us from destruction while we were blind to our peril, and had defended us at cost of thousands of lives while we were getting ready to fight, ought to make us ashamed to ask or even permit the payment of the money we advanced to help defeat the common enemy. This interpretation still prevails among us. We contributed money to the common enterprise but gave relatively few lives. Britain, France and Italy poured out precious lifeblood without stint. And now we demand that the money be repaid. Shame on such a country!

8. I did not and do not accept the prevailing interpretation of the war. My interpretation is that in participating therein we played the fool. The loss of our loans, by which the war was prolonged, is richly deserved as punishment for our folly. I should rejoice to see all the war debts openly repudiated. Governments that engage in collective homicide should have no scruples about a little thing like repudiating a war debt. "The whole structure of credit, honor and confidence in commercial relations" would not be shaken in consequence. It would stand the firmer if the world learned the profitable lesson that war loans are extrahazardous.

9. The wealth of our country is not far from twice that of Britain, France and Italy combined. It is proposed that for the next sixty years payments from these countries to ours on account of the war debts shall continue. In Europe children yet unborn will toil to pay tribute to our children yet unborn. The weaker are to bear heavy burdens for the benefit of the stronger. The thing is as atrocious in morals as it is preposterous in economics.

HENRY W. PINKHAM.

Brookline, Mass.

"AN INDIAN REVERIE"

Editor of UNITY:

It would have been a pity not to have had Pickthall's "An Indian Reverie" published (see UNITY, December 7).

It goes deeper into Gandhi's life and the real meaning of his movement than anything I have seen.

J. T. SUNDERLAND

New York City

4. To pledge the signatory governments not to seek special rights and privileges for their nationals in China.

The American Committee for Justice to China urges those who desire the goodwill which has existed between the United States and China to continue, to use forthwith their best efforts to secure from the government of the United States the prompt fulfillment of its unkept promises and support for the seven aims we have set forth in this pamphlet. To this end we ask you to voice your demands in a letter, telegram resolution or petition to President Coolidge, sending copies to Secretary of State, Frank B. Kellogg, and Senator William E. Borah, Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate.

AMERICAN COMMITTEE FOR JUSTICE TO CHINA
(Room 1008)
70 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.
Telephone Watkins 4678

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